1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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632 633 E. Provisions Concerning Municipal Government and the Municipality of Paoting

A municipal People's council consists of a mayor, a number of deputy-mayors, and from 9 to 25 members: In a municipality where the population is dense, the number of council members can be increased to 45.

The composition of the municipal people's congress is governed by Article 16 of the electoral law of the People's Republic of China:

> "A municipality with a population not exceeding 100,000 shall elect one deputy for every 500 to 1,000 persons; a municipality with a population exceeding 100,000 and up to 350,000 shall elect one deputy for every 1,000 to 2,000 persons; a municipality with a population exceeding 350,000 and up to 750,000 shall elect one deputy for every 2,000 to 3,000 persons; a municipality with a population exceeding 750,000 and up to 1,500,000 shall elect one deputy for every 3,000 to 5,000 persons; a municipality with a population exceeding 1,500,000 shall elect one deputy for every 5,000 to 7,000 persons.

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633 "The armed forces are entitled to elect from 2 to 10 deputies to the municipal People's congress."

632 The actual work of the municipality of Paoting in the province of Hopei can be cited as an example. The predecessor of the municipal People's congress was the representatives' conference. In Paoting the representatives' conference composed of 175 members held its first session May 9-16, 1950. On the first day, 21 members were elected to serve as a presidum. An opening speech was made by the deputy-governor, Li Hsi-chiu. Representatives from the armed forces, the working classes, and the commercial and industrial classes affirmed the opening remarks made by the deputy-governor. On May 9th, the acting mayor of Paoting reported on the activities of the municipal administration, with special references to economic reconstruction, finance, and revenue, culture, education and health, public security, social work, and municipal improvement.

On the third day of the session, the secretary of the Paoting branch of the Communist Party made a speech in which he pointed out municipal tasks involving the rehabilitation and development of industry, the exchange of goods between the villages and the cities,

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632 monopolized the platform.[13] The publicity given this criticism indicates that the Communist Party is anxious to improve the efficiency of the hsiang congress and make it appear to be an organization of the people rather than of the Communist Party.

633 V. THE SPECIAL MUNICIPALITY OF PEKING

After Peking fell to the Red Army in December 1948, Yeh Chien-ying, chairman of the military control council, was appointed mayor of the city. In September 1949, he was transferred to the governorship of Kwangtung Province, and Nieh Yung-chen was appointed as successor to Yeh.

In September 1949, Nieh Yung-chen took office as mayor. On November 22, 1949, the members of the representatives' conference of 1950 were chosen and given elective power. Nieh Yung-chen then became the first elected mayor of the municipality of Peking. When Nieh resigned on February 23, 1951, P'eng Chen, chairman of the representatives' conference, was elected mayor and continues to hold the office.

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13. Ibid.

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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633 When the National People's Congress was summoned in 1945, the Peking municipal congress elected delegates to attend. At this time the municipal congress was not able to elect a new mayor as the new law specifying the duties of local government and the local People's councils had not yet been published by the Central People's Government. After the promulgation of the law in September 1954, P'eng Chen was re-elected mayor.

A. The Executive-Administrative Branch of Peking Municipality

There have been few changes in the administration of the municipality of Peking since the promulgation of the new Constitution. Provisions specifying the number of deputy-mayors to assist the mayor have undergone some revision. Originally, only two deputy-mayors acted as assistants; at a later period, this number was increased to four. Today, eight deputy-mayors are designated. The new Constitution specifies that there shall be 38 members of the municipal council, and the following departments have been established: (1) civil affairs; (2) public safety; (3) justice; (4) control; (5) planning; (6) finance; (7) grain; (8) taxation; (9) industry; (10) commerce; (11) labor; (12) culture; (13) education; (14) health; (15) physical education, and a

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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633 number of other bureaus for public construction work and public utilities. A bureau for minority nationalities and another for overseas Chinese affairs can be added if necessary.

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178 There is no doubt that Peking since 1949 has been modernized. There are new roads, better systems for drainage and communications, and new housing facilities. A report at the opening session of the first municipal congress by P'eng Chen, mayor of Peking, indicates the areas where the local government has been most active in improving the municipality. P'eng Chen gave the value of industrial products produced in 1954 as being 6.76 times that of 1949, the value of commercial transactions in 1953 as being 4.33 times that of 1949, and the value of agricultural products produced in Peking and its suburbs in 1953 as being 1.21 times that of 1950. New housing developments were reported to have added 6,700,000 square meters (72,092,000 sq. ft.) of living space to the city, an area equal to the total housing previously available in Peking.

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185 In his report on the work of the municipality of Peking, P'eng Chen said that emphasis was to be placed upon the elimination of traditional evils -- corruption, theft, and so forth; preparations for the "liberation of Formosa; socialistic transformation

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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633 ideological reform: the elimination of counter-
185 revolutionary activities; and a revitalization of the economic life of the workers in accordance with the plan of the National Congress and the newly promulgated Constitution.

633 Chang Yu-yü, a deputy-mayor, read the financial statement for 1953 and the budget proposed for 1954. Taking 1950 as the base year (index 100), the revenues of Peking municipality was reported to have increased as follows:

1951	238
1952	355
1953	634
1954	647

Chang attributed the great increase of revenue to the fact that many public-owned industries had been developed by the municipality: revenue from private enterprises had become of much less importance. Over 46 per cent of municipal expenditures had been devoted to work of economic reconstruction according to Chang.

This first municipal congress of Peking had a membership of 539 delegates. They unanimously elected Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai, and Liu Shao-ch'i as representatives to the National People's Congress. Twenty-eight

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633 others were elected by a lesser majority.[14]

B. The Deliberative Branch of Peking Municipality

In the course of five years, the deliberative branch of the Peking Representatives' Conference underwent many changes. The first conference, called on August 8, 1949, consisted of 312 members. Most of the delegates had been recommended by the trade unions, the peasants' associations, the associations of commerce, the students' organizations, and the democratic parties. One third of the representatives were government officials.

In November 1949, at the second sessions of the first representatives' conference, Mao Tse-tung promised that the conference would be authorized to elect the mayor of Peking.

On February 27, 1951, some 519 members attended the third representatives' conference. The majority of the delegates were directly elected by the popular organizations in factories, mines, and schools. Some of the members were indirectly elected by the district councils of the municipality, and 17

14. People's Daily, August 18-19, 22-23, 1954.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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633 per cent of the total number of representatives were chosen by special invitation of the government. This system of selecting the membership of the representatives' conference was in force for more than three and a half years.

The first Peking municipal congress was a preparatory step to the selection of delegates to the National People's Congress. Of the 574 members of the municipal congress, 564 had been elected by the municipal district councils and ten came from the armed forces.

Jen-min Jih-pao [the People's Daily], the official organ of the Communist Party, called this odd mixture of popular election, limited election, and appointment "universal election,"[15] taking the term from "universal suffrage," in spite of the fact that none of the delegates to the municipal congress were elected by popular vote. Peking municipality is divided into thirteen districts, and these districts "elected" 564 out of 574 members of the municipal congress. Thus the members of the congress are delegates of the council members and not directly elected by the people. The municipal government of Peking, like the whole Communist regime, is

15. People's Daily, August 18, 1954.

633 based on what is called "democratic centralism." This system of rule, copied from the Soviet Union by the Chinese Communists, enables the top hierarchy of party and government to initiate and form policy which is passed down the pyramid of mass organizations and congresses to the bases where it emerges as the people's will." It is clear that this type of government from the lowest to the highest level far from expresses the real desires of the people.

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leadership in the rural districts, the Communsts hope to arrest further peasant resistance. 665 474 631

IV. PARTY CONTROL IN THE CITIES

Communist political power in the cities was established and consolidated by a program nearly identical with that employed in the rural districts. 665 633. The democratic reform movement and the campaign to suppress counterrevolutionaries, which were directed at the trade unions and at the urban populace as a whole, and the violent Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns , which were directed at the Party, the administration, the industrial and business circles of society, performed functions similar to those of the land reform program in the rural society.

Communist control in the city is maintained through Party control over organizations, extending from the trade unions to the students' federations, and reaching as far as the streets and alleys. The following is a brief discussion of the chief organizations found among the inhabitants of cities.[67]

The Urban Inhabitants' Committees were first organized in 1951 in the city of Tientsin, as an experiment. Their wide introduction in other cities throughout the nation was effectuated in January 1955 when a set of regulations governing their organization was promulgated by the Chairman of the People's Republic of China. The stated aim of the Urban Inhabitants' Committee was residing in or sharing a house with others, a committee represents from one to six hundred families.

67. Regulations of Committees in ibid., Jan. 1, 1955, p. 1.

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633 The Urban Street Office acts as a liaison between the government and the street and is the representative of the city government to the street; it checks on residents and imposes regulations. Its jurisdiction parallels that established for the Public Security Sub-Station, thus providing a double-check among the residents. The Public Security Sub-Station is responsible, in the main, for the maintenance of public order and the suppression of counterrevolutionaries.

As a "mass organization" Mediation Committees are established both in cities and in the villages. Their function is to mediate disputes among citizens, to propagandize government statutes, and for the time being to exercise "judicial" power in the village and street for misdemeanors not covered by the People's tribunal. Although the committee acts as a third party in a dispute, it represents the government view; it employs self-criticism as one of the primary techniques.

The Communist control in the cities is much more rigid and forceful than in the rural areas. The Communist domination over many mass organizations, factories, and other professional organizations also contributes to the stability of this political power. The many street organizations, particularly the public security Sub-Stations, in enforcing obedience and in spying on homes, play leading roles. However, the importance of other organizations, notably the procuratorates and the People's courts, should not be underestimated.

625 reported. The inadequacy of public security agencies in that county was further indicated by the fact that almost 50 per cent of the cases reported had not been solved.

In connection with the strengthening of rural public security work, two measures were taken. One was expressed in the directive[28] on strengthening fire prevention in the rural areas, issued by the Ministry of Public Security in May 1955, and the other was the transference of command of security forces below the administrative district from the military to the public security bureaus in the administrative district and county governments.[29]

625 633 3. Public Security in the Cities. To maintain public order and safety in the cities, the Communists have undertaken four principal measures: (a) the maintenance of an extensive organization within the public security bureau; (b) the rigid control over residents' movements; (c) the establishment of urban inhabitants' organizations and committees to spy upon the people and the workers in all organizations; and (d) the strict regulation of all commercial and recreational activities.

The public security bureau in the municipal government maintains at least eight sections. They are a secretariat, political protection (including intelligence, investigation, and con-

28. Ibid., May 29, 1955, p. 2.

29. Ibid., July 31, 1955, p. 2.

625 fidential information), public peace and order
633 administration, crimial police, sanitation, fire prevention, general service and supply, and personnel. Other functions under the bureau include the administration of prisons, detention houses, and "Reform-through-labor" camps as well as the training of security cadres and forces. Subsidiary to the bureau, ch'ü sub-bureaus and security sub-stations have been established. The organization of the sub-bureau is as elaborate as the bureau itself. The sub-bureau is charged with the supervising of detention houses and directing the work of security stations and security committees under them.

659 In the North China Region, ribid census-
625 control was established in July 1951 by a directive issued by the Government Administration Council.[30] Any resident who wished to move had to obtain beforehand a permit from a local security station. Any person who moved into a new district had to report to the local station. Even house guests staying three days or more had to be registered. The nationwide census in 1953 placed urban residents under stricter surveillance. In 1955, a rigid system of registration increased the already established restrictions upon the people.[31]

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30. Chang-chiang Jih-pao [Yangtze Daily], Hankow, July 18, 1951, p. 4.

31. Enlightenment Daily, Peking, April 2, 1955, p. 1.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 12 North China
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625 633 Co-operating with various urban inhabitants' organizations are the Security committees organized in the cities during the 1951 Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement.[32] Established in each street, office, and factory, the security committees are under the direct supervision of the public security agencies. They spread propaganda among the inhabitants, inform them of regulations issued by the public security agencies, and encourage popular participation in all public security activities. Security committees provide vigilance over the populace by giving the government a controlled group of informers among the people. Single committees are linked to make up a general committee, headed by the chief of the public security sub-station in each area.

The sub-station consists of a chief, deputy chiefs, and several policemen. Their assigned functions include the enforcement of laws on public security and social order, the suppression of sabotage, prevention of bandit acitivites, the surveillance of counterrevolutionaries, the administration of the census, and the direction of the security committees' work.

625 517 The issuance of regulations governing the conduct of business and recreation in the North China Region by public security agencies is not only a means of supervising business transactions

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32. Report on security committee work in Peking, People's Daily, Dec. 12, 1951, p. 1.

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

miles an hour, the modern automobile of an official with armed soldiers standing on the running board. British- and American-built trains come in through an ancient wall to the stately, modern-style railroad stations. In the same city where the ancient palaces of Emperors and princes occupy vast areas are modern hotels, office buildings, and residences. Peking is the happy hunting ground of tourists who wish to get the products of Chinese handcraft and art. In sections of the Southern City certain streets are named from the product sold or made in that particular district. One street is known to the tourist as Silk Street, another as Lantern Street. In another section are the gold workers; in another, the cloisonné designers. In a very small section in the Northern City are the makers of old-style bows and arrows, with their shops closely adjoining one another. And many modern stores are being opened for the selling of clothing, hardware, bicycles, automobiles, electrical supplies, and other importations from the West.

Peking is unlike any other city in its government.

The Government of Peking is a Chinese puzzle. Many different boards and agencies, including the National Government, its President, Cabinet and Parliament, the Metropolitan District, and two of its 20 *Hsien*, the Military Guard under the Board of War, the Municipal Council and Police Board, both of which are responsible to the Minister of the Interior, are all functioning in the city. The powers of the various boards are determined by custom rather than by law, so it is practically impossible to describe their relationship under all conditions.[1]

The relation of the guilds to the government naturally is not the same as it would be in a small town where the local *Hsien* official alone deals with the taxes. However, the same attitude of solidarity against the government officials is found

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 29.